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AUTHOR Cortese, Anthony
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ABSTRACT

A sample of 245 Chicano, Black, and Anglo children, grades 2-9, from three midwestern states was chosen for a comparative study of moral judgment, to measure differences among the ethnic groups and to determine whether they made the same progression through Kohlberg's three levels of moral development. Subjects viewed video tapes of five moral dilemmas modeled after Johnson and Piaget. Responses were measured by a variation of Rest's Defining Issues Test. Results indicated the predicted progression for retribution vs. restitution (increasing belief in restitution), with very mixed results for immanent justice (wrong deeds bring their own punishment), moral realism (acts should be judged by results, not motives), severity of punishment, and communicable responsibility (group responsibility for misdeeds). Anglos scored higher on most measures at most grade levels. There was no consistent difference between Blacks and Chicanos. Reasons suggested for ethnic differences include bias in the definition of stages, variations in social experience, the multi-dimensionality of moral judgment, and the methodology of the research. (IM)

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COGNITION AND MORAL JUDGMENT IN CHICANO, BLACK AND ANGLO CHILDREN

Anthony Cortese

Department of Sociology

Colorado State University

SO 014 336

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COGNITION AND MORAL JUDGMENT IN CHICANO, BLACK AND ANGLO CHILDREN

Abstract

The basic problem investigated in this article is whether Chicanos, Blacks, and Anglos show the same progression through Kohlberg's general levels of moral reasoning. The cognitive-developmental approach emphasizes logical development and social experience via role-taking as prerequisites to moral maturity. A quota cross-ethnic sample of 245 second through ninth graders was selected controlling for age, grade level, social status, sex, and religion. The subjects were presented five video-taped moral dilemmas and were administered a derivation of the Defining Issues Test. As hypothesized, Anglos generally scored higher than Chicanos and Blacks on the moral judgment measures. Several possible explanations for the disparity are considered. Finally, results comparing responses across the areas of moral judgment studied support a multidimensional nature of moral reasoning.

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COGNITION AND MORAL JUDGMENT IN CHICANO, BLACK AND ANGLO CHILDREN

The purpose of this paper is to examine whether Chicanos, Blacks and Anglos indicate the same progression through Kohlberg's three levels of moral development.[1] There is evidence (e.g., Edwards, 1975) suggesting the rate and endpoint of moral development are highly variable from one cultural setting to another. This is probably so since moral stages have been closely linked to the levels of social perspective (Colby et al, 1980). Thus our major hypothesis is: Anglo children will score higher on the moral judgment measures than their Chicano or Black counterparts. In light of previous research (Havighurst and Neugarten, 1955) which found a clear departure from the 'invariant sequence' in immanent justice (this concept is discussed below), we also hypothesize that Blacks can be expected to score lower than Chicanos or Anglos in this area. According to Havighurst and Neugarten, faith in immanent justice among children tended to increase, rather than decrease, with age and, in doing so, to reflect the prevailing belief system of the adult culture.

A quota sample of two-hundred forty-five Chicano, Black and Anglo second through ninth graders was selected.[2] The study took place in three midwestern states, including four cities and nine elementary schools, religious classes and youth clubs.[3] Ethnicity and age were picked as key sampling criteria because of a growing belief concerning the importance of culture and maturation as causal factors in moral development (e.g., Kohlberg, 1969; Turiel, 1969; Gorsuch and Barnes, 1973; and Edwards, 1975). In addition sex, social status,[4] grade level and religion were controlled. Control of such variables was affected through statistical analysis and sampling.[5] We felt it important to draw a minimum of 60 subjects from each ethnic category in order to make valid comparisions. Our resulting sample consisted of 41% Anglos (n=100), 31% Blacks (n=76), and 28% Chicanos (n=69). The subjects varied

from ages seven to fifteen in a normal distribution. The grade distribution was: 2nd and 3rd, 24%; 4th and 5th, 25%; 6th and 7th, 24%; 8th and 9th, 27%. There were nearly twice as many males as females. One of the reasons for this was several of the settings included youth organizations based on the systematic exclusion of female members. A majority (51%) of the subjects were Catholics; remaining subjects were classified as non-Catholics. The distribution of social status was also normal.

Procedure and Instrument

Subjects were presented five moral dilemmas, produced on video tape.[6] Following each dilemma, subjects were administered a derivation of the Defining Issues Test (Rest, 1979a, 1979b).

Use of Video Tape

The presentation of video taped dilemmas offers several advantages. A more accurate assesment of moral development in children can be obtained. Chandler et al.'s (1973) results suggest that previous findings indicating that young children are unresponsive to issues of intentionality are methodological artifacts of the verbal assessment procedures employed.[7] Also, they can be produced for a particular audience and have greater reliability and utility than standard dilemmas (Cortese, 1980). Using lower-middle class Chicano and Black actors in situations relevant to lower-middle class Chicano and Black subjects results in a natural environment and enhances the validity of the tapes as part of the research design.[8] Third, video tapes are more interesting to view and easier to understand. This is especially advantageous with child subjects because of a limited attention span and restlessness. In conclusion, the video taped dilemmas were constructed under the premise that problems which depend on familiarity with the environment are more likely to elicit meaningful replies than the standard dilemmas.[9]

The Instrument

Our instrument, derived from Rest's (1979b) Defining Issues Test (DIT) focuses

on the reasons behind the moral choice, the interpretation of the situation. Concerning reliability, Davidson and Robbins (1978) conclude that test-retest reliability for the major indices of the DIT are generally in the high .70's or .80's and Cronbach's alpha index of internal consistency is generally in the high .70's. Unlike Kohlberg's standard interview, our instrument is objectively scored; hence there is no problem with inter-rater reliability or with different interviewing styles. In conclusion, confidence that our instrument represents the construct, moral judgment, comes from the interlocking lines of evidence and replication of findings in many studies using the DIT. For further information on validation studies of the DIT, see Rest (1979a), Chapters 4-8.

Areas of Moral Judgment

Although our scale is structurally similar to the DIT, the contents of the dilemmas were modeled after Johnson (1962) and Piaget (1965). Johnson examined five areas of moral development: (1) immanent justice - the belief in the existence of automatic punishments which emante from objects themselves (Piaget, 1965:250); (2) moral realism - a belief that acts should be judged in terms of consequences, not on the basis of the motive behind the act, "the tendency which a child has to regard duty and the value attaching to it as self subsistent and independent of the mind, as imposing itself regardless of the circumstances in which the individual may find himself" (Piaget, 1965: 106); (3) retribution vs. restitution- "expiatory [retributive] punishment has an arbitrary character . . . there is no relation between the content of the guilty act and the nature of its punishment . . . and all that matters is that a due proportion should be kept between the suffering inflicted and the gravity of the misdeed" (Piaget, 1965:203). Restitutive punishment, on the other hand, implies restoring the equilibrium destroyed by the misdeed, "putting things right . . . a reinstatement of the social bond and the authority of rules" (Piaget, 1965:202); (4) severe punishment - acceptance or rejection of the idea that the more severe punishment is more efficacious;

and (5) communicable responsibility - essentially, guilt by association, choice of collective or of individual responsibility for punishable acts, responsibility of group for the misdeed of member(s), "the necessity for the whole group to expiate the faults of one of its members" (Piaget, 1965:248).

Results and Data Analysis

A correlation matrix of the background variables indicated all but one of the correlations are insignificant. A high correlation between age and grade is not problematic since both are essentially measuring the same phenomena: chronological maturity. Age is dropped in favor of grade in the proceeding analyses due to theoretical considerations (Piaget, 1965) which emphasize the importance of peer group pressure on the child's level of moral reasoning. We turn now to an examination of the relationship between ethnicity and the moral judgment measures.

Figures 1 through 5 exhibit how each ethnic group scored by grade on each measure. We shall focus on ethnic differentiation and intraethnic disparity as indicated by grade level. In the first area (Figure 1), moderate support for our hypothesis that Blacks would demonstrate an increased faith in immanent justice with age is indicated. Chicanos exhibit a developmental progression in rejecting immanent justice with the exception of unusually low marks by sixth and seventh graders. Anglos also exhibit a developmental model except for high scores by fourth and fifth graders. Overall, subjects choose conventional responses.

[Figure 1 about here]

In the dimension of moral realism (Figure 2), with the exception of second and third graders who tally comparatively high, Blacks display the expected age progression at the conventional and postconventional levels. Chicanos, on the other hand, maintain minimal variance with three of the grade levels scoring between forty-five and forty-seven percent. Anglos, meanwhile, clearly progress with age. In sum, subjects follow a developmental model.

[Figure 2 about here]

In the next area (Figure 3), all groups provide evidence for the positive and linear relationship between age and moral judgment. In comparing groups, Anglos score higher than Chicanos and Blacks; Chicanos score higher than Blacks.

[Figure 3 about here]

In the fourth area, (Figure 4), with the exception of sixth and seventh grade low responses, Blacks did not display substantial variance; the other grade levels scored between thirty-two and thirty-five percent. Chicanos follow that pattern though they score lower than Blacks at all grade levels. Anglo scores disclose a substantial difference between the high scores of the older children (i.e., grades 6-9) and the younger children (i.e., grades 2-5). Anglos again score higher than both Chicanos and Blacks; Blacks score higher than Chicanos. All groups reflect a preference for preconventional response.

[Figure 4 about here]

In the area of communicable responsibility (Figure 5) all groups specify a nonlinear pattern: second and third graders score relatively high; the pattern reaches its peak for all three groups at the next grade level; the scores dive to their lowest (or near lowest for Anglos) points for sixth and seventh graders; the pattern finishes on an upbeat. In total, second through fifth graders score higher than the older children. This is contrary to the age progression hypothesis. In comparing groups, Anglos score highest; Chicanos score higher than Blacks.

[Figure 5 about here]

Results suggest that the groups generally do not progress at the same rate by age. Anglos dominate the highest scores in all five areas. Blacks score higher than Chicanos in immanent justice and severe punishment; Chicanos score higher than Blacks in retribution vs. restitution and communicable responsibility. In moral realism, Chicanos and Blacks score nearly even though the latter display a clearer developmental pattern, peaking higher than the Chicano crest. The area of retribution vs. resititution specifies the developmental model best for all

groups. That same pattern is evident for Blacks and especially Anglos in moral realism. In the other areas, the age progression hypothesis is not supported without exception. In severe punishment, for Blacks and Chicanos, barring the highest grade level which scored expectedly high, regression appears. Finally, we note minimal consistency in responses across areas. The data point out the complex and multi-dimensional nature of moral reasoning, an underemphasized issue in past research. The following section discusses possible explanations for ethnic differences.

Discussion

Ethnic differences in moral judgment might result from a bias built into the definitions of the stages, variations in social experience which stimulate moral growth by encouraging processes of role-taking, a misguided attempt to capture multi-dimensional cultural variation on a uni-dimensional scale, and/or poor testing procedures.

1. Stage Bias

Ethnic differentiation would vanish if stage definitions were reconstructed to be more culture/content-free. The present stages focus on a core value of fairness defined as reciprocity, equality, and individuality. These concepts may be appropriate for Anglo respondents but not for Chicanos or Blacks. Different moral judgment scales, based on role-taking, could be developed around different core values. The concern for moral judgment research on Chicanos and Blacks is that they proceed toward a different goal rather than progressing at a slower rate of "universal" moral development.[10]

2. Social Experience and Role-Taking

According to cognitive-developmental theory, low scores indicate a lack of exposure to the types of moral problems which encourage role-taking. Socialization and role-taking experience affect cognitive development through family activity, peer group, common literature, formal associations, in-group marriage, and

segregation. For the Chicano or Black, the ability to survive in a particular environment has taught him/her subcultural beliefs and value complexes which are not likely to be counteracted by the developmental process (e.g., the Stage 2 barrio child whose existential beliefs are grounded in a reality of instrumental relativism). Lack of opportunity may delay or preclude the development of various types of social "skills."

3. Multi-dimensionality of Moral Judgment

Stage sequences represent a distortion and oversimplification of reality and have no proper place in the examination of cultural variation in normative thought (Simpson, 1974). Success in registering "higher" levels of moral judgment depends on familiarity with methods of analyzing the physical and social realms that are not pan-cultural. Gilligan (in press) and Haan (1978) argue that some people, particularly females and Blacks, do not define morality in terms of abstract principles, as in the works of Kant, Rawls, and Kohlberg. Such moral reasoning includes responsibility, concern for others, practicality and is based on the assumption that moral judgments do not occur in a temporary or social void. Rather moral choices are made with others in the context of everyday life circumstances. While principled reasoning is rule-oriented and objective, interpersonal perspectives are action oriented and subjective. Whereas formal morality centers on logical comprehensiveness, promotes autonomy and sets up moral problems as mathematical equations, it's logic is not relevant in real life dilemmas. Instead, moral solutions emphasize the interdependence of people's lives. In sum, the type of moral judgment central to cognitive-developmental theory is but one of several possible units of analysis.

4. Methodological Criteria

Moral judgment research can be judged against three methodological criteria:

(a) Moral dilemmas must raise issues and examine values relevant to the subcultural group(s) being studied. This involves either adaptation

of original dilemmas or the creation of appropriate new dilemmas.

(b) Research procedures must be designed to elicit the most reflective reasoning. For interviews, especially pertinent is the choice of the oral versus written response medium.

(c) Dilemmas and probing questions must be presented in the subject's language/dialect. Responses should be scored similarly or translated without distortion into English for stage scoring. These three criteria require thorough knowledge of the subject's background and language.

In conclusion, we speculate that each of the four possible explanations contributed partially to the apparent structural discrepancies in responses to moral dilemmas between the ethnic groups. However, we take the position that moral development is multi-dimensional and that this was the most salient factor for the ethnic differentiation. Consequently, moral judgment models and indices must take into account other dimensions of moral development when assessing an individual's moral maturity. Such dimensions include but are not necessarily limited to the following: the affective component of moral reasoning, moral conduct, situational and subcultural factors, and judgments made to justify or excuse previous behavior.

Summary and Conclusions

A moral judgment study involving two-hundred forty-five Chicano, Black and Anglo American children from three midwestern states was conducted. The sample was presented five video taped moral dilemmas, each one illustrating one of five areas of moral development investigated by Johnson (1962). Subjects were tested after each vignette with a derivation of Rest's (1979b) DIT. The objective of the research was to examine possible differentiation in responses between ethnic groups. Age, social status, sex and religion were controlled.

The most important results of this research have shown the following:

(1) The five moral judgment area measures are psychometrically sound. They

They support Rest's (1979a) instrument in terms of high reliability, homogeneity and validity.

(2) Responses to these measures exhibit a developmental progression across age in accordance with Piaget's basic theory of cognitive development.

(3) The video taped moral dilemmas possess the established criteria for validity in consideration of the ethnic background of the subsamples involved.

(4) There are no meaningful differences between the sexes, in social status or in religion on the moral judgment measures.

(5) There are no meaningful differences in performance among the four geographical locations where the data were collected.

(6) Anglos tended to score higher than Chicanos and Blacks on all five of the measures.

(7) Chicanos tended to score higher than Blacks on two measures and vice versa. The two groups scored nearly even on one measure.

Differences between Anglos, Chicanos and Blacks on the moral judgment measures leads us to adopt the position that they can be at least partially explained as a cultural bias in favor of middle-class Anglo males. Haan's (1978:302) results also seriously question Kohlberg's implicit assumption that "formal structures represent a sufficient and comprehensive array of those moral levels that people actually use." Interpersonal morality depicts the more basic way in which people morally relate to themselves, others and their society. This humanistic morality emerges from dialogue between actors who try to achieve symetrical accord, based on give-and-take and shared interests. Formal morality ascents from individual tendencies. "The moral reasoning of males who live in technical, rationalized societies, who reason at the level of formal operations and who defensively intellectualize and deny interpersonal and situational detail" (Haan, 1978:287) is especially favored in Kohlberg's model. Future research should transcend scoring systems which tap only formal morality. There is a need for a multi-dimensional model which incorporate interpersonal and subcultural morality and relates to moral action.

NOTES

1. At the preconventional level, the individual is responsive to cultural rules and labels of good and bad, right or wrong, but interprets these labels either in terms of the physical or the hedonistic consequences of action (punishment, reward, exchange of favors) or in terms of the physical power of those who enunciate the rules and labels. At the conventional level, maintaining the expectations of the individual's family, group, or nation is perceived as valuable in its own right, regardless of immediate and obvious consequences. The attitude is not only one of conformity to personal expectations and social order, but of loyalty to it, of actively maintaining, supporting and justifying the order, and of identifying with the persons or group involved in it. At the postconventional level, there is a clear effort to define moral values and principles that have validity and application apart from the individual's own identification with these groups.
2. The justification of the present sampling method can be found in Runkel and McGrath (1972). Our sample can thus be viewed as homogeneous strata within a heterogeneous cluster.
3. SAMPLE AND SETTING:

   1) Youth Organization: Nineteen subjects, lower class non-Catholic males. Three were between the ages of eight and ten, ten were twelve or thirteen and six were fourteen or fifteen.

   2) Youth Organization: Forty-two, all males. Twenty-six were Blacks, ten were Chicanos and six were Anglos. All Chicanos and one Anglo were Catholic; the rest were non-Catholic. Thirty-two respondents were lower class, nine were lower middle and one was middle class. Twelve subjects were between the ages of nine and eleven, fourteen were eleven or twelve years old and sixteen were thirteen through fifteen years of age.

3) Catholic Elementary School: Forty second, third, fourth and fifth graders. All Anglos except five Chicanos. Twenty-six were males and fourteen were females. One subject was lower class, two were lower middle, thirty-six were middle class. Twenty-three students were eight or nine years old and the other seventeen were ten or eleven years old.

4) Catholic Elementary School: Ten middle-class Anglo sixth and eight graders. Six of the students were females and four were males. Seven subjects were twelve years old and three were fourteen.

5) Catholic Church: Fifty-two lower middle class Catholic Chicanos and one middle-class Catholic Anglo from Sunday school classes at a primarily Chicano Catholic church. Thirty-two of the children were females and twenty-one were males. Thirteen subjects were seven or eight years old, twelve were nine years old, fifteen were eleven or twelve and thirteen respondents were thirteen through fifteen years of age.

6) Elementary Public School: Seventeen second, fourth and sixth graders volunteered at this particular setting. Thirteen students were Anglos, three were Blacks and one was Chicano. Twelve children were males and five were females. Concerning religion, all but one of the respondents were non-Catholic. Three subjects were lower class, twelve were lower middle and two were middle class. Ten of the children were seven through nine years old and seven were ten through twelve years of age.

7) Elementary Public School: Twenty non-Catholic second and fourth graders, ten Blacks and ten Anglos. Fourteen of the respondents were males and six were females. Ten students were lower class, four were lower middle class and six were middle class. Concerning age, twelve subjects were eight through ten years old and eight were eleven or twelve.

8) Junior High Public School: Seventeen non-Catholic Black eighth graders, nine males and eight females. Thirteen students were lower class and the remaining four were lower middle class. Two of the subjects were thirteen years old, eleven were fourteen and four were fifteen years of age.

9) Elementary Public School: Twenty-five Anglo, one Black and one Chicano eighth graders. Sixteen of the students were males and eleven were females. Ten of the volunteers were Catholics and seventeen were non-Catholic. One child was lower class, six were lower middle, twenty were middle class. Thirteen of the students were thirteen years old; fourteen students were fourteen years old.

4. Social status was measured with Duncan's Socioeconomic Index (Reiss, 1961).
5. Analyses of covariance and discriminant function analyses were run to measure the weight of control variables. Ethnicity as a main effect was significant independent of age and social status. Sex and religion were basically unimportant.
6. VIDEO TAPE DESCRIPTIONS AND INSTRUMENT SCORING:

Immanent Justice

Actors: Four Black male youths (ages 9-11), a fifty-five year old male, a forty-five year old Anglo female, and a sixteen year old Anglo male.

Setting: A small neighborhood grocery store. A long shot to the front of the store opens the scene. From around the corner the Black boys emerge near the store door. One of the older boys gets the others' attention and issues a challenge by asking the gang if they would like to go in and "rip off something." Two of the boys eagerly respond affirmatively, while the smallest youth disagrees. The others taunt him until he decides to comply.

Led by the older boy, the gang enters the store. The group temporarily splits up. They regroup in front of a candy counter and each one stuffs various pieces of candy into his pockets. The female checker spots this and watches the boys as they start to exit the store. (State law requires store authorities to stop shoplifting suspects only after they have exited.) This shot is mixed to a long shot to the front exterior of the store where the boys have just exited and are walking down the sidewalk. For no apparent reason, the youngest boy who did not want to steal in the first place jumps over the store railing and hides. The store personnel apprehend the other three boys and guide them back into the store but are unaware of the fourth boy. The youth in hiding peeks his head out and, seeing that no one is around, runs away down the street.

The viewers are asked if they feel that the fact the youngest child did not want to steal in the first place is causally related to the fact that he was not caught. A response which brought in the idea of change--that chance caused one boy to escape while the others would be caught--would be scored at the conventional level of moral development. A conventional response would also include those which indicated that the younger boy was not caught because he jumped over the railing and hid. A preconventional reponse would be one that attributed some sort of super-natural cause to the event that the youth was not caught (e.g., he wasn't caught because the other boys talked him into stealing).

Moral Realism

Actors: Two Catholic Chicano male youths (ages 10 and 11). Settings: 1) an interior basketball court, 2) a shoe department in a large store

and (3) a candy counter in another department store. The scene opens with a long shot to the boys playing a game of one on one on the basketball court as the narration begins: This story is about Mark, a guy who comes from a tough neighborhood. Mark did pretty well, generally, but he sometimes took things. Mark had a friend, Stanley, who was a very good basketball player but whose folks didn't have much money so that Stanley couldn't afford to get basketball shoes. One day when Mark was downtown, he went into a store and took some basketball shoes that they had there and gave them to Stanley. Stanley who is shooting baskets back on the court as Mark comes running and tells him, "Look what I have for you, Stanley--basketball shoes!" and presents him with the new pair of shoes. Stanley is too elated to ask from where the shoes came. The previous shot is mixed to a long shot of Mark walking up to a candy counter in another department store. Then later, Mark was hanging around another store and managed to take some candy that didn't cost near as much as the basketball shoes. This shot is mixed to a long shot of Mark who is sitting on the edge of the stage behind the basketball hoop and eating the stolen candy (close up to Mark as the narration continues). Mark didn't tell anyone about the candy. He just ate it all himself. Now Mark wasn't caught either time and no one ever found out where Stanley got the basketball shoes. Now which time was the stealing worse?

This moral dilemma dealt with moral realism (i.e., judging an act right or wrong solely in terms of it's objective consequences--for example, in this case, the cost of stolen merchandise). The conventional response would be one in which acts were judged in terms of intent (e.g., the stealing was worse the second time because Mark didn't really need the candy but stole it all for himself). A preconventional response would

indicate that an act is judged according to its consequences (e.g., the stealing was worse the first time because the basketball shoes cost more than the candy). A postconventional response would indicate moral reasoning which transcends commitment to a fixed law or rule (e.g., the stealing was worse the second time because, although stealing is wrong per se, Stanley really needed the basketball shoes) or symbolizes adherence to an abstract moral principle (e.g., the stealing was equally wrong both times.)

Restitutive vs. Retributive Punishment

Actors: Four Black and two Anglo (ages 9-13), a thirty-eight year old lower middle class Black female. Setting: a narrow residential street where the boys are playing a game of touch football. Across the street the woman is kneeling in her front yard and putting soil around a freshly planted bush of ferns with a hand spade. The scene begins with a medium long pan of the street and crosses back to a long shot of the woman where the camera focuses on her actions with a closer shot. A public bus rolls slowly by, temporarily interrupting play, as the camera slowly pans from the woman who has taken her one-and-a-half year old baby into the house to the children playing football. Meanwhile, back at the game, an incomplete pass is thrown and the two three-man teams huddle to plan their strategy. On the next play a pass is caught and the receiver accidentally tramples the flowers as he attempts to evade opponents. The woman comes out of the house and starts to yell. The viewers are then asked how the boy should be punished, which punishment would be fairest and which would be hardest. The problem of choosing between punishment in terms of expiation or retribution vis-à-vis restitutive punishment appears in this moral dilemma. The

conventional response would be the restitutive one, chosen because it is fairest, not because it is hardest. If the restitutive punishment was chosen, not because it was fairest, but solely because it was considered the most severe, it was considered a preconventional response. The choice of an expiatory punishment would also be scored as a preconventional response.

Efficacy of Severe Punishment: Scene I

Actors: A forty-three year old middle class Catholic Chicana, her fourteen year old daughter. Setting: Their home. The Scene opens with a pan of the living room and continues with a medium mid shot to Sarah, the daughter, who is browsing through her mothers coats hanging in the cloak hall. Sarah finds a leopard fur coat to her liking and takes it off the hanger. She starts to put on the coat, then hesitates with indecision over whether she should wear the coat. Sarah calls offstage to her mother and requests permission to wear the coat. Her mother replies negatively and cites the possibility that Sarah could lose the coat. Sarah is momentarily disappointed with her mother's decision and commences to remove the garment. However, she soon changes her mind about obeying her mother's command, displays a sneaky grin, puts on the coat and exits out the front door. The previous shot is mixed to another view of the same setting where the front door opens and Sarah reappears wearing her mother's leopard coat. She stops suddenly and gasps having discovered her angry mother standing with arms folded across the room. Sarah's mother approaches her daughter and grabs her. She ground Sarah for a week and instructs her to hang up the coat immediately.

Efficacy of Severe Punishment: Scene II

Actors: A forty year old Anglo middle-class Catholic female, her fourteen year old daughter. Setting: their home. The scene opens with a pan of the living room and changes with a mid shot to Kimmy, the daughter, who is standing in front of the sofa and brushing her hair. Kimmy sets the brush on the coffee table, turns, spots her mother's fur coat lying on the sofa and starts to put it on. Kimmy's mother enters the room from offstage right. She is mildly upset but has not lost her temper. Kimmy's mother indicates that she does not want her using the coat since she is afraid that Kimmy may soil it. Kimmy's mother exits right after Kimmy promises not to wear the coat. Kimmy observes her mother's departure, decides to wear the coat after all and tip toes out the front door. She turns around and peeks through the window in the door to ensure her mother is not watching. The previous shot is mixed to a long shot of the same room where Kimmy is peeking through the front door window wearing her mother's fur coat. A time lapse is evident since the room has darkened. Kimmy opens the creaking door and enters. She carefully tip toes over to the sofa and starts to remove the garment. Kimmy's mother reenters from offstage right in anger. She tells Kimmy that she thought she made it clear to her earlier she did not want her using the coat since it is very expensive and soils easily. Kimmy's mother adds that she does not feel Kimmy is ready to handle the responsibility of properly caring for the coat. She closes by asking Kimmy if she understands why she may not use the coat. Kimmy responds affirmatively and apologizes.

The basic difference between the two scenes was the severity of punishment. Sarah's mother grounds her daughter without lending detail

about the rationale for her decision. On the other hand, Kimmy's mother explains why she would not like her daughter to use the coat and makes sure that Kimmy understands. The viewers are told that one of the girls uses her mother's coat again. They are then asked to indicate which girl they feel used the coat again and why. Answers in which the position was taken that the less severe punishment was more effective were scored as conventional, while those responses that indicated a belief in the efficacy of the more severe punishment were scored as preconventional.

Communicable Responsibility

Actors: One Chicano and fourteen Anglo males (ages 14-17), all members of a small lower middle class Catholic high school varsity football team, and their actual coach (a twenty-four year old Anglo male). Setting: School locker room. The scene begins with a medium close pan across the room where the players are preparing for practice. The room is full of various sounds: locker doors opening and closing, toilets flushing, players noisily greeting and chatting with one another, etc. Some youths are walking to and from various spots in the room; some are entering and others are in various stages of undress. One of the older boys calls two of his friends over to him and gives them each a cigarette. He lights up the cigarettes including one for himself, and they begin smoking. The camera again pans left across the room and focuses back on the smokers. Someone yells, "here comes coach!" and the smokers quickly dispose of the cigarettes. The coach has unexpectedly entered the locker room catching all of the boys offguard. He knows that someone has been smoking since he can smell the smoke still in the air and asks the group who was smoking. No one replies. He presses further but still everyone is silent. He then states that even if you were not smoking but know who was to tell

him who the offenders are. Still no one says anything as the camera pans across the three smokers. Finally, the coach informs his players he has no other alternative than to dismiss all of the players present from the team. As the coach tells everyone to "check it all in," grumbles, curses, moans and slamming locker doors are heard.

The viewers are asked if the coach's decision was justified and are requested to provide a rationale for their response. Communicable responsibility (i.e., is the group responsible for the misbehavior of a sub-unit of the group?) is dealt with in this moral dilemma. Those responses that accept the idea of communicable responsibility for reasons based on power and authority (e.g., the coach was right/fair since he can make the rules.) are judged as preconventional. Those responses that reject the notion of communicable responsibility (e.g., No. It was not fair. Not everyone was smoking.) are judged as conventional. However, if communicable responsibility is accepted for reasons of reciprocal duty (e.g., Yes. The coach was right since he gave the other players the opportunity to tell him who was smoking.), a postconventional score is given.

For every question on each dilemma, M (meaningless) responses are included as an internal check on subject reliability (see Rest, 1979b:3.3).

7. Chandler et al. presented eighty seven-year-olds two moral dilemmas, both of which were prepared in the traditional verbal format and also produced on video tape. Each subject was exposed to one verbal and one video taped story. Moral judgments made in response to the verbal dilemmas were largely based on consequences, supporting previous studies using similar methods. Responses to the video taped dilemmas were, however,

largely based on intentions, suggesting that the actual age of onset of intentional judgments is considerably earlier than had been previously assumed.

8. In many cases, persons were literally picked off the street at the sites of the tapings to serve as actors. Other times, the video tapings occurred in the homes of the actors. Care was taken to choose actual family members in the video taping of family situations. The moral dilemmas were taped without eliminating or disrupting other coexisting situations and occurrences on the locations. For example, a moral dilemma taped at a neighborhood grocery store not only shows a gang of male youths shoplifting (the focal concern of the story), but also depicts actual shoppers, store personnel and passersby.

9. Psychologists (e.g., Piaget, 1955; Isaacs, 1966; Vygotsky, 1935) have long since noted children seem to converse in a more complex and detailed fashion and attain more complicated solutions to intellectual problems or social dilemmas in the course of spontaneous everyday interactions with their social and physical environments, vis-à-vis, when they are being formally questioned by researchers. This is probably true because the contents of these interactions are phenomena that the child knows and cares about (compared to questions used in cognitive and moral assessments which are hypothetical, arbitrary and perhaps alien in content). This issue has taken on considerable contemporary import in cross-cultural moral judgment research. Methodologically, the quest for cognitive assessment devices that would be valid and reliable across various cultural/ethnic groups has led to repeated reformulations of such tests. Future cross-cultural/ethnic moral judgment studies must accommodate for the

probability that such children know and care less about the contexts of standardized tests than do their Anglo, middle-class counterparts.

10. Chicano children develop stronger group enhancement and altruism motives than Anglo children who develop stronger competitive motives (Madsen, 1971). The greater cooperativeness of Chicano children manifests itself as they: 1) more often choose the cooperative alternative in experimental tasks (Madsen and Shapiro, 1970), 2) tend more often to behave spontaneously as a member of a group, in contrast to Anglo children who, faced with the same situation, behave individualistically (Kagan and Madsen, 1972), 3) less frequently contradict their mothers in potential conflict situations (Hoppe et al., 1977), and 4) tend to be higher on need for achievement for the family (Ramirez and Price-Williams, 1976).

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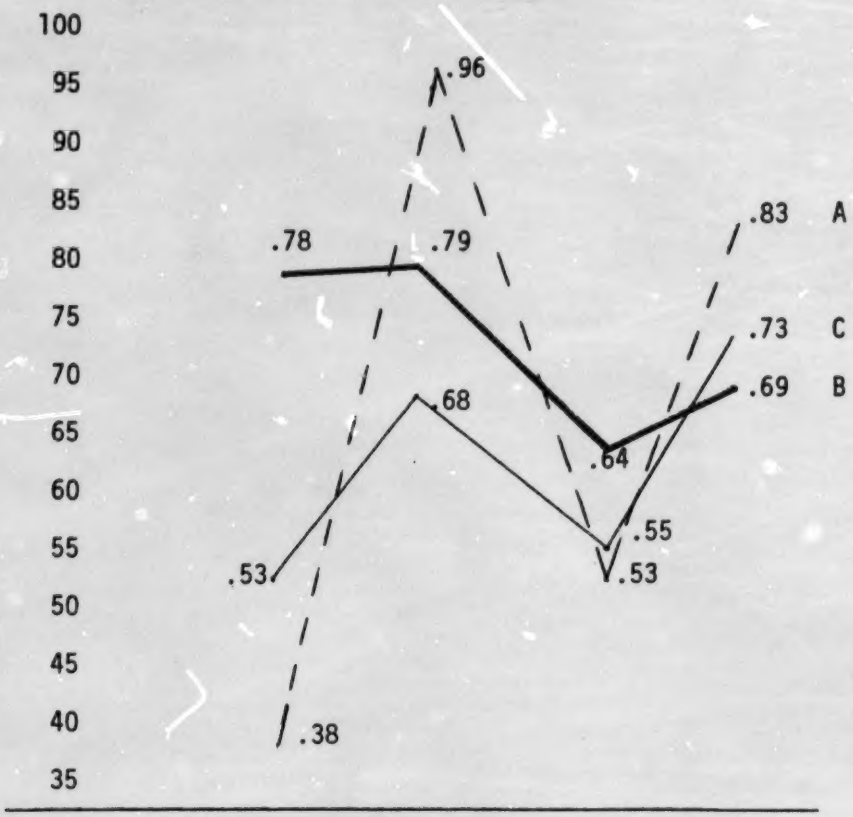
Figure 1

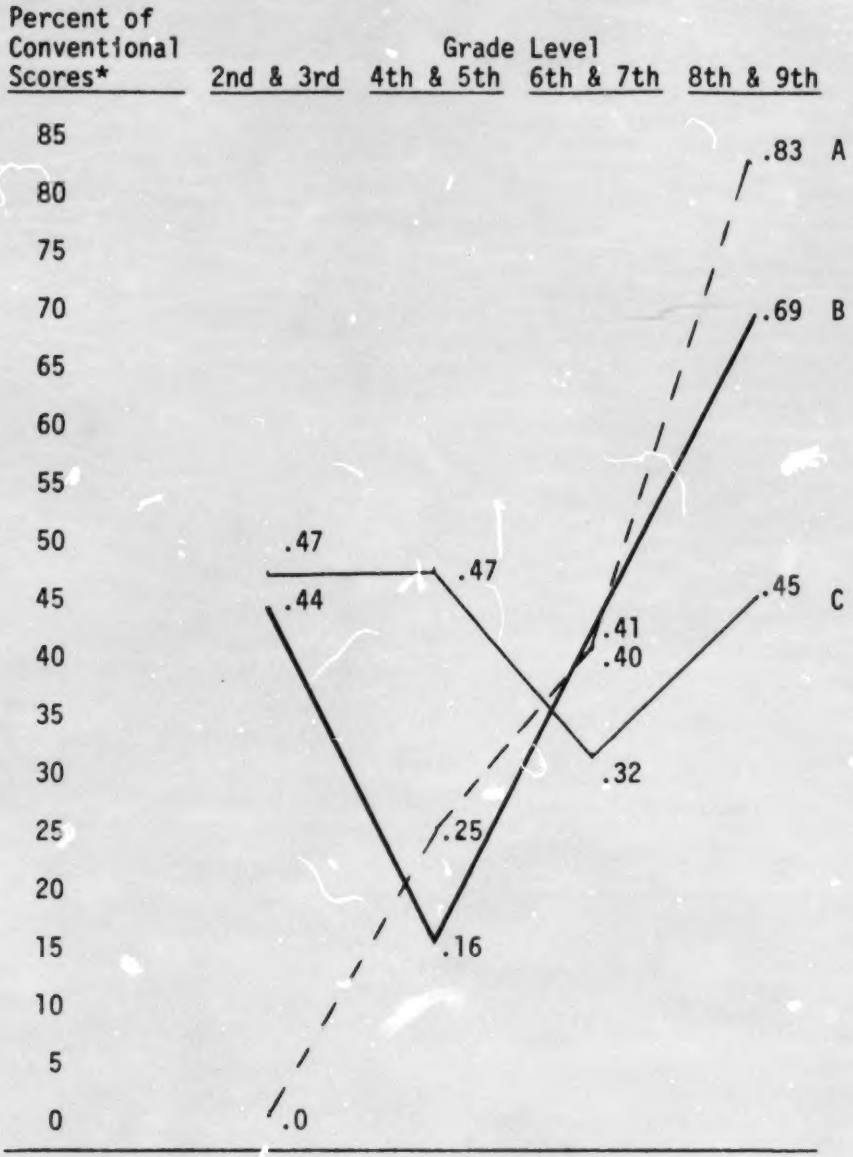
IMMANENT JUSTICE



A = Anglo B = Black C = Chicano

Figure 2

MORAL REALISM

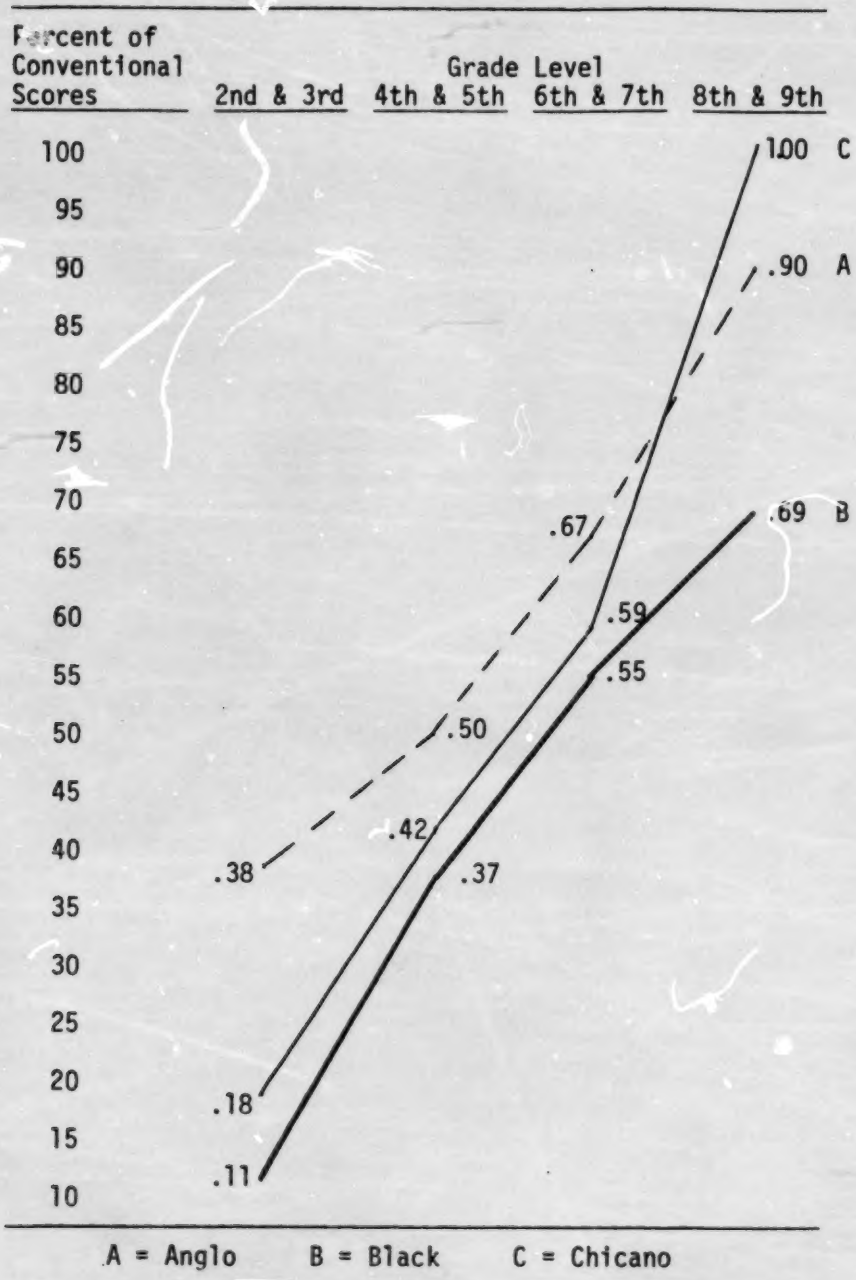


A = Anglo B = Black C = Chicano

*Also includes the rare postconventional scores.

Figure 3

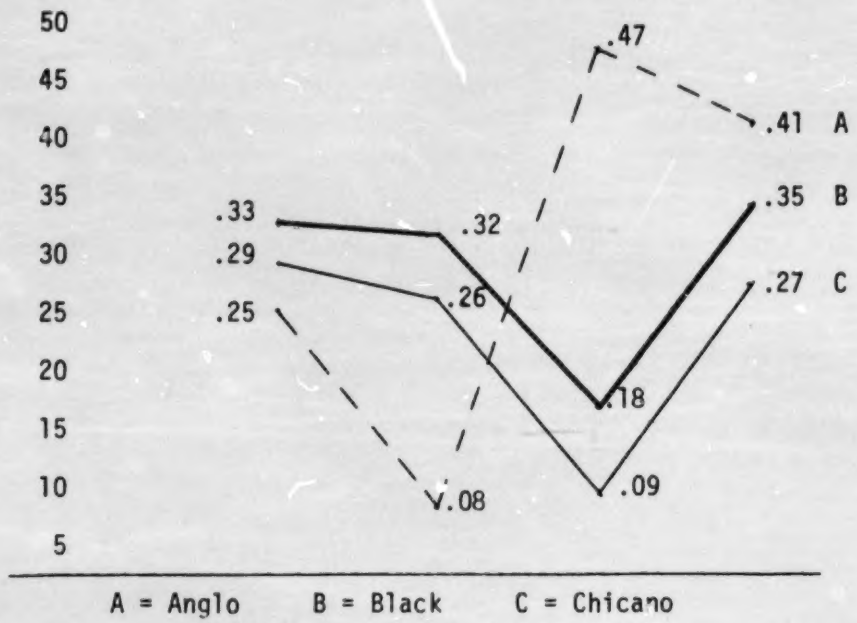
RETRIBUTION VS. RESTITUTION



A = Anglo B = Black C = Chicano

Figure 4

SEVERE PUNISHMENT

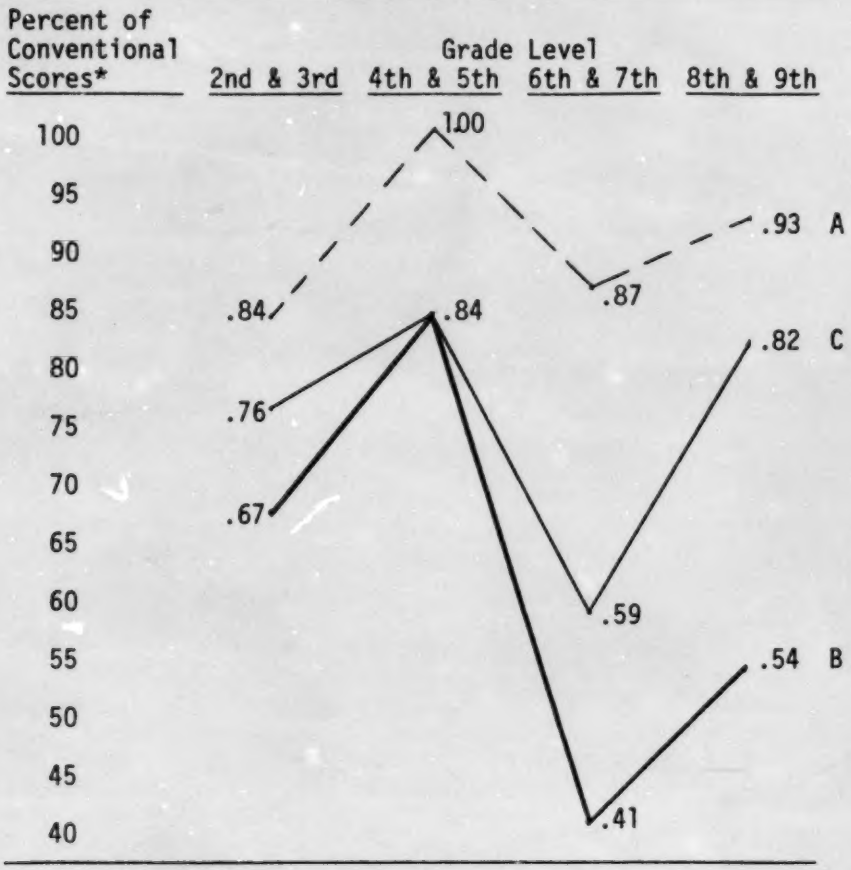


A = Anglo B = Black C = Chicano

*Also includes the rare post-conventional scores.

Figure 5

COMMUNICABLE RESPONSIBILITY



A = Anglo B = Black C = Chicano

*Also includes the rare postconventional scores.